

We want nations to look at us with respect and not fear, outrage, and scorn. It is time for us to take the lead in removing all weapons from Iraq, but in a way that embraces other nations instead of isolating us from them.

I will vote against this resolution, which permits a unilateral military attack, because I do not believe that the President has made a convincing case or provided sufficient evidence to merit its passage. However, let me also make it clear that my vote against this resolution, which I do not believe will make our nation any safer, should not in any way imply that I think the men and women in our armed services are anything less than heroes. They are courageous and brave.

So I end this speech as I began it, with great sadness. I cannot agree with the course that our great nation is embarking on, one that brings the threat of war closer and the goal of peace further away.

Mr. GARY G. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, as Saddam Hussein continues to defy the United States and the world, the avenue of options available in dealing with Hussein shrinks with every step he takes toward attaining nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. It is clear that Hussein does not aspire to acquire these weapons for the sake of self-defense. The goal of these weapons is aggression. This is not a man of peace. This is a man of war. He has made a mockery of the agreement ending the first Persian Gulf War, and now he holds out hope that he can continue to manipulate the world to hold on to power. And he intends to hold power and use it till he is successful in acquiring weapons of mass destruction and with it, the ability to bully and destabilize the Gulf region.

Hussein intends to use the currency of these weapons to hold hostage the entire region. What then? Some argue that if the attack is not on the U.S. (which we cannot guarantee), we should not get involved. But who believes that if he again invades another country that the United States will be able to sit on its hands as the stability of the Middle East unravels? If he uses these weapons against his neighbors, where will this nation be on moral ground to allow him to continue without reprisal? Appeasement will not be an option. Further, who believes that our country is better positioned fighting a nuclear armed Hussein than one that is currently without that capability? Who believes that the welfare of our men and women in uniform is better served in having them face an enemy with nuclear weapons than one who has not yet been successful in doing so? The answer is no one. With that being said, the urgency of dealing with Hussein is ever increasing.

If Hussein attacks, the most brilliant diplomatic minds combined will not be able to bring a peaceful end. However well intended those hopes may be, eleven years of defiance have shown that peaceful talks and negotiations are not an option for Hussein. Rather, they are an opportunity to a man who does not deserve to lead the Iraqi people and who we cannot continue to appease.

Between 1987–1989, he ordered the deaths of the Kurdish population by the tens of thousands—indiscriminately spraying their villages with poisonous gas. He has proven his imperialist nature through a path of destruction against Kuwait. He has allowed the Iraqi people to starve in favor of diverting resources to maintaining his grip on ruling Iraq. He has en-

gaged in the periodic shake-up of his own administration, brutally eliminating threats to his reign of power. He has suppressed every effort of democracy and change in Iraq with bloodied and unremorseful hands. Saddam Hussein has committed acts so far beyond the pail of decency and acceptability that it leaves one to wonder in shock why we have waited so long to end this madman's career of carnage.

Our nation stands for freedom and humanity and because it does, we had hoped we could reason with Hussein. We hoped he would comply with the conditions of the peace agreement ending the Persian Gulf War. In the 1990s, we hoped he would end the shenanigans of denying access to inspection teams and end his lies and deceit by ending his weapons program. In all these things, Saddam Hussein failed. Through no lack of effort, we have given diplomacy a chance.

No Saddam Hussein wants to fool the world again. And it is the job of this body to ensure that he does not. We have exhausted all reasonable efforts to deal with an unreasonable madman. We have risked all too much in the hope of peace, only to have these efforts manipulated by a illusionary director. It has not been our President, but Saddam Hussein himself that has made the most compelling case for the need for his removal. Saddam Hussein has in his actions, told the world that he is a threat, that he is dangerous, and that he will never be able to be held accountable unless removed.

We can wait no longer as with each passing day, Saddam Hussein draws closer to attaining nuclear weapons and he exponentially increases the threat he poses to this nation, our allies, and peace and stability. We owe to the future generations not to make the mistake of holding out hope for Hussein. We must act with diligence to protect this country and we must act decisively.

Let this be clear that this country loves freedom and loves peace. We deserve (and the Iraqi people deserve) more than to be held in fear by a ruthless dictator whose actions have been unconscionable and continue to pose a threat to humankind. We know what Hussein is capable of and it is time to end the nightmare that he has unleashed on his people and bring a complete end to his imperialist aspirations. Therefore, I strongly urge an aye on this resolution.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, in view of Iraq's history of violence, deception and hostility, and the mounting evidence about its pursuit of powerful weapons, our objective must be the disarmament of Iraq and the fundamental reform of its current political leadership.

The Administration and many members of this body realize that this task is one that must be undertaken to protect America and its citizens. As we have learned, failing to recognize the seriousness of threats posed by our enemies can have grave consequences. I support this resolution because it is critical to our national security.

It does not obligate us to carry out military action, but it makes clear to Iraq and all nations the depth of our commitment to extinguishing the threat, and ensures that the Administration has every option available to achieve our objectives, including the use of military force.

There is a looming menace to America, and we ought not delay our efforts to neutralize it.

Mr. DICKS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.J. Res. 114, which expresses the support of Congress for the Administration's efforts to enforce the United Nations Security Council resolutions mandating the disarmament of Iraq. Passage of this measure by the Congress will authorize the President to use American military forces to defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq.

Let me state at the outset that it is my judgment that the situation in Iraq is very serious and very perilous. I have served on the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee for 24 years, and on the Intelligence Committee for eight of those years. I have thus had a continuing interest in the campaign of deceit waged by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein ever since the day he agreed to abandon his weapons of mass destruction following the Gulf War. Based on the briefings I have had, and based on the information provided by our intelligence agencies to Members of Congress, I now believe there is credible evidence that Saddam Hussein has developed sophisticated chemical and biological weapons, and that he be close to developing a nuclear weapon. And furthermore, I believe he will not hesitate to use these and any other weapons he has in his arsenal against America and against our ships and bases in the Middle East region.

The CIA's most recent report on Iraq clearly indicates that, after the ejection of weapons inspectors in 1998, Iraq continued its chemical weapons program, energized its missile program, and invested more heavily in biological weapons. Furthermore, Iraq's growing ability to sell oil—despite the ban—increases Baghdad's capabilities to finance weapons of mass destruction programs. Using these funds, it largely has rebuilt the missile and biological weapons facilities that were damaged during Operation Desert Fox and has expanded its chemical and biological infrastructure under the cover of civilian production. The Iraqis have also exceeded UN range limits of 150 kilometers for their ballistic missiles and they are also developing unmanned aerial vehicles, which would allow for a more effective and more lethal means to deliver biological and chemical warfare agents.

Beyond these weapons programs, there is the question of nuclear weapons. In 1991, inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency uncovered a secret Iraqi effort to build nuclear weapons after they intercepted a shipment of trucks loaded with huge electromagnetic isotope separators used to make weapons-grade uranium. These inspectors remained on the ground, working with U.N. arms inspectors, until the day they were thrown out of Iraq by Saddam Hussein, flagrantly violating the terms of the disarmament agreements he signed to save himself in the Gulf War cease fire. Since 1998, there is credible evidence that he has attempted to purchase uranium and the hardware necessary to produce the kind of weapon that could inflict infinitely greater damage than any of the destruction we witnessed on September 11th of last year. There can be no doubt that Saddam Hussein represents a growing menace. In the four years since he expelled United Nations arms inspectors from Iraq, he has become an emboldened dictator whose hatred of the United States has only grown stronger as he has regained his military capability.